

Tungusic loanwords in Yeniseian languages*

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1. Introduction

The topic of my current research is the exploration of Altaic elements in the Yeniseian languages¹. Previous studies only focused on the Turkic elements,² whereas the Mongolic and Tungusic loanwords have not been discussed yet.

The paper presents 23 different Tungusic loanwords in Yeniseian from the etymological, phonetic, morphological and lexical aspects. In the current corpus of my research I deal with 124 loanwords with clear Tungusic etymology and I have 30 questionable words in terms of origin. The source of borrowing for Yeniseian languages is the Ewenki dialects, which belong to the Northern Tungusic group.³

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¹ Yeniseian languages belong to the Paleo-Siberian language group. The Yeniseian languages are claimed to be related to the Sino-Tibetan, Burushaski (Karasuk) and Caucasian language families. Recently Vajda (2010) has presented a hypothesis that the Yeniseian languages show genealogical connections with the Na-Dené languages of North America, but this question remains open for further discussion. According to the most recent works on historical linguistics such as Starostin (1982), Vajda and Werner (in preparation), and Vajda (personal communication) the Yeniseian languages are divided into at least three sub-branches: Ket-Yugh, Pumpokol, Assan-Kott, with Arin either connected with Pumpokol or Ket-Yugh or representing a fourth sub-branch. Today the Yeniseian language family is represented only by the three surviving dialects of Ket.

² See the papers by Timonina (1986; 2004) and Stachowski (1996; 1997). The latter also discussed the Turkic loanwords of Arabic origin (Stachowski 2006). Vajda (2009) is a valuable paper on different loanwords (of Russian, Uralic and Altaic origin) in Ket.

³ The Ewenki language belongs to the Tungusic languages, traditionally believed to form the Altaic language family together with the Turkic and Mongolic languages, and the northern

Morphologically most loanwords are either nouns or adjectives. In addition, there are also small numbers of verbs, adverbs and particles.

The main source of my research was the *Comparative Dictionary of Yeniseian languages* by Werner (2002/1-3) and his study on 18th century Yeniseian materials (Werner 2005). In these works we can find the whole lexical material of Yeniseian languages published until now. Another source of my work was the *Etymological Dictionary of Yeniseian languages* by Vajda and Werner, which is still at a preparatory stage (Vajda and Werner: in preparation).

2. Etymology

2.1. The Tungusic loanwords with clear etymology

(1) Ket *dəgbən* ‘area between two riverbends’ (Vajda and Werner: in preparation) ← Northern Tungusic: Ewenki *dāgwūn* ‘crossing, ford across a river’ < *dāγ-* ‘to cross, pass river’ -*wūn* {Ewenki VN}:

cf. Northern Tungusic: Lamut; Negidal *daw-*; Southern Amuric: Oroch; Udihe; Ulcha *dau-*; Orok *dāu-*; Nanai *dā-*; Southern Manchuric: Jurchen – ; Manchu *dō-* (SSTMJa 1: 187).

The Ket word was obviously borrowed from Ewenki form *dāgwūn*, which was derived from the Common Tungusic verb *dāγ-* ‘to cross, pass river’ and productive Ewenki VN suffix -*wūn* (On function see Vasilevič 1958: 748). The borrowing from the Ewenki dialect confirms the absence of this suffix in other Tungusic languages.

(2) Northern Ket *kolomə* ~ *gólomə* ‘a kind of winter dwelling covered with sod’ (Werner 2002/1: 439) ← Northern Tungusic: Ewenki *golomo* ‘a kind of winter dwelling’ < *golo* ‘a log, a beam’ +*mA* {Ewenki NN}:

cf. Northern Tungusic: Ewenki dial. *golomo*; Lamut *goloma* < *gol* ‘firewood’; Negidal *golo* ‘log, beam’; Southern Amuric: Oroch *golo*; Udihe

Tungusic branch, together with the Even (or Lamut) and the Negidal languages. The southern branch is divided into two groups: the Manchuric group (Jurchen or Old Manchu, Manchu and its sole living remnant Sibe ~ Sibö) and the Amuric group (Nanai, Ulcha, Orok, Oroch and Udehe). The Ewenki language in Russia has 51 dialects, which can be divided into northern, southern and eastern groups. The main criterion used during the classification of the dialects is the development of the Common-Tungusic consonant **s* in initial and intervocalic positions. The representations *h*, *s* and *š* appear in the three groups. Literary Ewenki is based on the Poligus dialect, which belongs to the southern or sibilant group, exhibiting the hissing type (*s-*, *VsV*) (For more details on classification, see Khabtagaeva 2010: 10; 12–13).

golo ‘half-rotten log’; Ulcha *golonqo* ‘firewood, stack’; Orok *golo* ‘log’; Nanai *γolonqo* ‘firewood, stack’; Southern Manchuric: Jurchen –; Manchu *γoldon* ~ *γolton* ‘charred ends of wood, charred stump’; Sibe - (SSTMJa 1: 159b).

The Northern Ket term connected with the kind of winter dwelling has clear Tungusic etymology. The Yeniseian word was borrowed from Ewenki, where it was *golomo*, derived from the Common Tungusic word *golo* ‘a log, a beam’ and productive Ewenki suffix *+ma* (Vasilevič 1958: 769). The devoicing of the Tungusic initial **g-* is a regular change in Ket, which characterizes the early period of borrowing. The initial *g-* is typical only of loanwords in Ket.

2.2. The Tungusic loanwords of questionable etymology

The next Ket word belongs to the category of uncertain etymology, with some problematic aspects. E.g.

(3) Ket *eretnek* ~ *er’etnek* ‘devil’ (Werner 2002/1: 240) ← Northern Tungusic: Ewenki *erūjit-* ‘to do an evil deed, crime; to say spiteful things; to be squeamish’ < *erū* ‘trouble, adversity; mischief; guilt; harm’ + *ji-* {Ewenki NV, see Vasilevič 1958: 780} -*t-* {Ewenki VV, see Vasilevič 1958: 790} ← Mongolic **erū* < *eregü* ‘torture, torment, chastisement; capital punishment’:

cf. Northern Tungusic: Ewenki dial. *erū* ‘trouble, adversity; mischief; guilt; harm’ (Bold.); Lamut –; Negidal –; Southern Amuric: Oroch –; Udihe –; Ulcha *erule-* ‘to torture; criticize, oppress’; Orok –; Nanai *erū* ‘torment’; Southern Manchuric: Jurchen –; Manchu *erun* ‘torture; execution’; Sibe *erulu-* ‘to torture’ (SSTMJa 2: 465b-466a) ← Mongolic **erū* < *eregü* ‘torture, torment, chastisement; capital punishment’: Middle Mongolic: –; Literary Mongolian *eregüü*; Modern Mongolic: Buryat –; Khalkha *erū*; Oyrat dial. –; Kalmuck –.

The Ket word is of unknown etymology. As a hypothesis, I propose that it originates from the Ewenki dialectal verbal form *erūjit-* ‘to do an evil deed, crime; to say spiteful things’, which is of Mongolic origin (Doerfer 1985: 39; Rozycki 1994: 71). I suppose the Ket taboo word was borrowed from Ewenki and underwent metathesis, which is a peculiar feature of Yeniseian: **erūngit-* > **erutnig* > *eretnek* (On metathesis in Yeniseian, see Vajda 2013).

2.3. Tungusic loanwords of Mongolic origin

During my research I found some Ket words of Mongolic origin also exhibiting Tungusic peculiarities, e.g.:

(4) Ket *ába* ~ *áva* ‘shelf in a tent for storing kitchen utensils’ (Werner 2002/1: 12) < **alba* < **yalba* ← Northern Tungusic: Ewenki **jalba* < *dalba* ‘shelf for kitchen utensils’ ← Mongolic **talbūr* < *talbiyur* ‘stand, rest; hanger; low table; board to put things on; to set free, release, let loose’ < *talbi-* ‘to place, put, set, lay or put down; to install’ -*GUr* {Poppe GWM §155}

cf. Northern: Ewenki dial. *dalba* ~ *jalba* (Bold.), cf. *dalbaptun*, *dalbur* ‘id.’; Southern Amuric: -; Southern Manchuric: - (SSTMJa 1: 193b) ← Mongolic: cf. Middle Mongolic: MNT *talbi-*; HY *talbi-*; Muq *talbi-* ~ *tabi-*; Leiden *talbi-*; Literary Mongolian *talbiyur* < *talbi-* ~ *tabi-*; Modern Mongolic: Buryat *tabyūr* ‘stand; small table’; Khalkha *tawiur* ‘stand, rack, shelf, easel, stage’; Oyrat dial. *tāwūr* ~ *tāūr* ‘cupboard; shelf’ (For more Mongolic data, see Nugteren 2011: 510-511).

The Tungusic source of borrowing is proven by the initial *y-*, which alternates with *ǰ-* ~ *d-* in the Ewenki dialects. The Ket word was likely borrowed from Ewenki, where it was the dialectal form *yalba*, where the initial *y-* disappeared. This phonetic change occurs in some Tungusic loanwords, e.g. Ket *enna* ‘really?’ ← Northern Tungusic: Ewenki *yēŋan* ‘what; how; really?’; Central Ket *aqtul* ‘spring (water coming out of the ground)’ ← Northern Tungusic: Ewenki *jūkte* ‘spring, brook’, etc. Another important phonetic feature in Yeniseian is the prohibition on consonant clusters, e.g. Ket *mina* ‘pig’ ← Russian *svin’ja*; Ket *kuruk* ‘hook’ ← Russian *kr’uk*; Ket *kola* ‘school’ ← Russian *kola*, etc. (Vajda 2009: 486).

(5) Ket *baʔj* ‘friend’ (Werner 2002/1: 156) ← Northern Tungusic: Ewenki *beye* ‘man, person, body’ ← Mongolic *beye* ‘body, physique, organism; health’:

cf. Northern: Ewenki dial. *beye* ‘the man; male; husband; personality; the body; referring to a man or a woman; generation; age (~ 75 years)’; Lamut *bej* ‘man, personality’; Negidal *beye* ‘man; body; personality; oneself’; Southern Amuric: Oroch *beje* ‘body; oneself; similar’; Udihe *beje* ‘body; oneself; present, real’; Ulcha *beje* ‘body, trunk; oneself’; Orok *beje* ‘body, trunk; stem’; Nanai *beje* ‘body, trunk; corpus; figure; oneself, personal, own, proper’; Southern Manchuric: Jurchen *péi-yè* ‘body’; Manchu *beje* ‘body, trunk; life, being; personality; oneself, own, personal’ (SSTMJa 1: 122a) ← Mongolic *beye* ‘body, physique, organism; health’: Middle Mongolic: MNT

beye ~ *be'e*; HY *beye*; Muq *beye*; Leiden *biye*; Literary Mongolian *beye(n)*; Modern Mongolic: Buryat *beye*; Khalkha *biye*; Kalmuck *biy* (For more Mongolic data, see Nugteren 2011: 281).

The Tungusic borrowing of Ket word confirms the lexical meaning. Originally in Mongolic it means 'body, physique, organism; health', while in Tungusic it means 'man, person, body'. It seems that the Mongolic word was borrowed early, as it is present in almost all Tungusic languages.

2.4. Hybrid words

An independent group consists of hybrid words, where one of the elements is Tungusic, while the other one is Yeniseian, e.g.:

(6) Northern Ket *awide* 'marsh, tundra'; Central Ket *ajgidde*; Southern Ket *ajgitde* 'wooded tundra, pine bog' (Werner 2002/1: 85) ← Northern Tungusic: Ewenki *ayī* 'taiga, tundra, marsh' + Yeniseian *de* 'lake':

cf. Northern: Ewenki dial. *ayī* ~ *ajī* 'taiga', cf. Stony Tung. 'forest in the plain', Barguzin 'open desert place, steppe', Aldan 'field', Tungir. 'tundra, marsh'; cf. *ayī-* 'to walk in the snow (without a road, without skis); to go past; to hunt'; Lamut *āju-* ~ *āwi-* 'to walk in the snow'; Negidal *awī-*; Southern Amuric: Udihe *ai-* 'to go through deep snow'; Ulcha *ajī-* ~ *u-* 'to walk in the snow (without a road, without skis)'; Oroch *āwi-* 'to walk in the snow'; Nanai *aoi-* 'to go through deep snow', *āi-* 'to walk in the snow'; Oroch - ; Southern Manchuric: Jurchen - ; Manchu *ajli-* 'to dodge a straight road'; Sibe - (SSTMJa 1: 13a).

The Ket forms probably consist of the Common Tungusic *ayī* 'taiga, tundra, marsh' and Yeniseian word *de* 'lake'.

(7) Ket *dankijaj* 'rucksack' (Vajda and Werner: in preparation) ← Northern Tungusic: Ewenki *daŋajā* 'shoulder bone' + Yeniseian *aj* 'sack':

cf. Northern: Ewenki dial. *daŋanī* ~ *daŋanā* ~ *daŋajā* ~ *dayaŋa* 'name of bone (shoulder bone, hip bone, shin bone); thigh'; Lamut - ; Negidal *dayaŋa* 'hip bone'; Southern Amuric: Oroch - ; Udihe - ; Ulcha - ; Oroch *dāna* 'name of bone (shoulder bone, hip bone, shin bone); thigh; shoulder (upper arm until elbow)'; Nanai - ; Southern Manchuric: - (SSTMJa 1: 188b).

2.5. Tungusic loanwords with Yeniseian suffixes

There are some Ket words which were borrowed from Tungusic but are used with native Yeniseian suffixes. They bear plural, collective or nominalizer suffixes, e.g.:

(8) Central Ket *kaɫaŋ* ~ *kaɫəŋ* ‘marshy place’ (Werner 2002/1: 459) ← Northern Tungusic: Ewenki *kuta* ‘marsh’ + *ŋ* {Yeniseian Collective suffix}:

cf. Northern:⁴ Ewenki dial. *kuta* ‘marsh, bog, clay’, cf. *kuta-* ‘to get bogged down in the swamp’; Lamut *kuta* ‘bog, swamp’; Negidal *kota* ‘bog, swamp’; Southern Amuric: –; Southern Manchuric: – (SSTMJa 1: 439b).

(9) Northern Ket *doɫtɔraŋ* ‘socks made from reindeer hide’ (Werner 2002/1: 195) < *doɫtɔr* + *aŋ* {Ket Plural} ← Tungusic *doktokōn* ‘fur stockings’ < *doqto* + *KĀn* {Ewenki NN/Diminutive}:

cf. Northern: Ewenki dial. *doktokōn* ~ *dektekēn* ‘fur shoes, worn on boots’; Lamut *dōten* ‘fur stockings’; Negidal *dokton* ‘stockings (fur, cloth, cotton)’; Southern Amuric: Oroch *dokton* ‘fur or leather stockings’; Udihe *dokti* ‘fur stockings’; Ulcha *doqto* ‘fur or cotton stockings’; Orok *doqto* ‘fur or cotton stockings’; Nanai *doqto* ‘fur or cotton stockings’; Southern Manchuric: – (SSTMJa 1: 213a).

The Ket word is obviously connected with the Common Tungusic word *doqto* ‘fur stockings’, which is present in almost all Tungusic languages. The Ewenki borrowing proves the Diminutive suffix +*KĀn* (see Vasilevič 1958: 759). Unlike the Tungusic form, the Yeniseian form acquires the plural suffix, and the *-k* > *-r* change occurred.

3. Phonetic peculiarities

3.1. Syncope

Ket words are usually monosyllabic, and syncope is typical of polysyllabic loanwords, e.g. Russian *nedel’ a* ‘week’ in Ket is *nela*; Russian *samovar* in Ket is *sambar*, etc. (see Vajda 2009: 486). There are some Yeniseian examples where syncope occurred:

(10) Ket *kəɣɔn* ‘myth. forbidden jewelry in a snake’s nest; copper pendant of shaman’s costume’ (Werner 2002/1: 445) ← Northern Tungusic: Ewenki *kulitkān* ‘the image of snake in the shaman’s costume’ < *kulīn* ‘snake’ + *tkĀn* {Ewenki NN/Diminutive}:

cf. Northern: Ewenki dial. *kulitkān* ‘the image of snake in the shaman’s costume’ < *kulīn* ‘snake’ (Bold.); Lamut *qulīn* ~ *quličān* ~ *qolisān* ~ *kuličān* ~ *quličān* ‘mosquito’; Negidal *kolixān* ~ *kulikān* ‘worm, bug’; Southern

⁴ Northern Tungusic → Turkic: Yakut *kuta* ‘bog, peat’ (SSTMJa 1: 439b).

Amuric: Oroch *kulæ* ‘worm (common name for worms, snakes and caterpillars)’; Udihe *kuliga* ‘id.’; Ulcha *qoli* ‘kind of aquatic insect’, *qula* ‘worm’; Orok *qola* ~ *qolia* ~ *qoliya* ‘insect, worm’; Nanai *qolā* ‘worm; caterpillar; insect’; Southern Manchuric: - (SSTMJa 1: 428b).

The Ket word was likely borrowed from the Ewenki, where it is a diminutive form *kulitkān* (on its function, see Vasilevič 1958: 791). The Tungusic origin proves the lexical meaning of the base *kulīn* ‘snake’.

(11) Ket *ákses* ‘bear trap’ (Werner 2002/1: 56) < **áксе* + *s* {Yeniseian nominalizer} ← Northern Tungusic: Ewenki *amākākse* ‘bear’s skin; bear’s flesh’ < *amā* ‘father’ + *kā* {Ewenki NN/Diminutive} + *kse* {Ewenki NN/Adj.}:

cf. Northern Tungusic: Ewenki *amākākse* ‘bear’s skin; bear’s flesh’; cf. Negidal *amaj* ‘father’; Southern Amuric: Oroch, Udihe, Ulcha, Nanai *ama*; Orok *ama* ~ *amma*; Southern Manchuric: Jurchen ‘*á-mīn*’; Manchu *ama* (SSTMJa 1: 34b-35a).

Possibly the Ket word used with Yeniseian nominalizer +*s*. It was likely borrowed from Tungusic form *amākākse* ‘bear’s skin; bear’s flesh’, which is derived from the Common Tungusic word *amā* ‘father’ with the Ewenki diminutive suffix +*kā* (Vasilevič 1958: 758) and the Ewenki productive denominal noun suffix +*kse*, deriving the adjective forms (Vasilevič 1958: 763). This is a good example, where the Tungusic taboo word ‘bear’ was originally formed from the word with the meaning ‘father’.

3.2. Aphaeresis

Another important typical phonetic feature of Tungusic loanwords in Yeniseian is aphaeresis. There are some Ket words where the Tungusic initial *jX-* regularly disappeared, e.g.:

(12) Ket *enna* ‘really?’ (Vajda and Werner: in preparation) ← Northern Tungusic: Ewenki *yēḡan* < *yē* ‘what; how; really?’ + *ḡĀn* {Ewenki NN}, cf. Common Tungusic *yē-* ‘quest. verb what to do?’:

cf. Northern: Ewenki dial. *yēḡan* ‘really?’; Lamut *ā-* ~ *ē-* ~ *iā-* ‘[quest. verb] what to do?’; Negidal *ē-* ‘id.’; Southern Amuric: Oroch *ya-* ~ *ye-* ‘[quest. verb] what to do?’; Udihe *ya-* ~ *ye-* ‘id.’; Ulcha – ; Orok – ; Nanai – ; Southern Manchuric: Jurchen – ; Manchu *ya* ‘what, who; which, which kind?’; Sibe *ya* ‘id.’ (SSTMJa 1: 286).

The Ket adverb was clearly borrowed from Ewenki, where it is *yēḡan*. The base of the word is the Common Tungusic interrogative pronoun *yē* and Ewenki NN +*ḡĀn*

(on its function, see Vasilevič 1958: 778). Etymologically the Tungusic word is probably connected with the Mongolic interrogative pronoun *yayun* ‘What? What kind? Which?’.

(13) Central Ket *aqtul* ‘spring (water coming out of the ground)’ (Werner 2002/1: 55) < *aqtu* + ? *l* ← Northern Tungusic: Ewenki *jūkte* ‘spring, brook’⁵ < *jū-* ‘to go out, come out’ -*ktA* {Ewenki VN}:

cf. Northern: Ewenki dial. *yūkte* ~ *jūkte* ~ *jūktu* ~ *hūkte* ‘spring, brook’ < *jū-* ~ *jū-* ~ *hū-*; Lamut *hō-* ~ *jō-* ~ *hū-* ‘to get out; to leave; to rain’; Negidal *jū-* ~ *hū-* ‘to go out; to float’; Southern Amuric: Oroch *hū-* ‘to get out, to pop out; to rise (sun)’; Udihe *hū-*; Ulcha *hie-* ~ *hē-*; Orok *nē-*; Nanai *hie-* ~ *hē-* ~ *hiu-*; Southern Manchuric: – (SSTMJa 1: 348b-349a).

The Ket word originated from the Common Tungusic verb *jū-* ‘to go out, come out’. The borrowing from Ewenki is evident from the presence of the Ewenki productive deverbal noun suffix -*ktA* (on its function, see Vasilevič 1958: 764), which is absent in other Tungusic forms.

3.3. Excrescence of internal -*ŋ*-

The next phonetic feature which is typical of Tungusic elements, is excrescence. There are some words where the internal -*ŋ*- usually appeared usually before the dental consonant -*t*-, e.g.:

(14) Ket *daŋtakan*; Northern Ket *deŋtiyin* ~ *däŋtiyin* ‘marsh’ (Werner 2002/1: 184) ← Northern Tungusic: Ewenki *detkēn* ‘marsh’ < *det* ‘tundra, marsh’ + *kĀn* {Ewenki NN/Diminutive, see Vasilevič 1958: 759}:

cf. Northern: Ewenki *detkēn* ‘tundra; marsh; mossy glade’ (Bold.); Lamut *det*; Negidal *det* ~ *detkēn*; Southern Amuric: Oroch *detu*; Udihe – ; Ulcha *detu*; Orok *detu*; Nanai *detu*; Southern Manchuric: – (SSTMJa 1: 238b).

(15) Ket *laŋtei* ~ *laŋtegai* ~ *laŋteŋjai* ‘evil’ (Werner 2002/2: 3) < **lagataki* ← Northern Tungusic: Ewenki *lawadapki* ‘evil spirit’ < *lawādā-* ‘to carry, haul something by mouth; to grab by beak or teeth’ -*pki* {Ewenki VN}:

cf. Northern: Ewenki dial. *lawadapki* (Bold.); Lamut – ; Negidal *lawādā-* ‘to carry, haul something by mouth (about animal)’; Southern Amuric: – ; Southern Manchuric: – (SSTMJa 1: 485b).

⁵ Northern Tungusic → Turkic: Yakut *jūhta* ‘spring (water coming out of the ground); polynya (unfrozen patch of water in the midst of ice)’ (SSTMJa 1: 348b–349a).

The Ket forms *laŋtegai* ~ *laŋteŋai* ‘evil’ are problematic. As a hypothesis, I assume that this Ket word has Tungusic etymology. The borrowed form was possibly **lagataki*, which can be connected with the Ewenki word *lawadapki* ‘evil spirit’. And finally, metathesis occurred in Ket. Another important fact for Tungusic corroboration is the initial *l-*, which is peculiar to loanwords in Ket.

3.4. The final *-l* of unknown origin

During my research I found several Tungusic loanwords with a final consonant *-l* of unknown origin. This must be a Ket peculiarity, but there is no any information about this feature. E.g.

(16) Ket *e²tl* ‘colour’ (Vajda and Werner: in preparation) < **e²t +l* ← Northern Tungusic: Ewenki *ičede* ‘colour’ < *iče-* ‘to see, watch, look, notice’ -*dA* {Ewenki VN, see Vasilevič 1958: 752}:

cf. Northern: Ewenki *ičeden* ~ *ičede* ~ *ičedi* ‘view, look, appearance; reflection; color’ < *iče-* (Bold.); Lamut *it-* ‘to see, notice’; Negidal *iče-*; Southern Amuric: Oroch *iče-*; Udihe *isesi-*; Ulcha *iče-*; Orok *it-* ~ *ite-*; Nanai *iče-*; Southern Manchuric: – (SSTMJa 1: 334b-335b).

(17) Ket *saŋol* ‘chimney of a dug-out’, cf. Central Ket *sonal* ‘smoke hole of a dug-out’ (Vajda & Werner: in preparation) < **sona +l* ← Northern Tungusic: Ewenki *sōna* ‘chimney’:

cf. Northern: Ewenki dial. *sōna* ~ *sōŋa* ~ *suona* ~ *hōna* ~ *šōna* ‘smoke hole of a dug-out; chimney of a dug-out’; Lamut *hōnan* ~ *hōnān* ‘smoke hole of a dug-out; rafter’; Negidal *sōna* ‘id.’; Southern Amuric: Oroch *sōno* ‘smoke hole of a dug-out’; Udihe - ; Ulcha *sōn* ‘roof rafter’; Orok *sōno* ‘smoke hole of a dug-out; rafter’; Nanai *sō* ‘roof rafter; pole’; Southern Manchuric: Jurchen - ; Manchu *son* ‘pole’; Sibe - (SSTMJa 2: 110).

4. Morphology

From a morphological point of view, the majority of loanwords are nouns and adjectives. Additionally, a small number of loanwords are verbs, adverbs and particles.

4.1. Verbs

The Ket verbal system is highly complicated, and it is not typical of Ket to borrow verbal forms (for details on the Ket verbal system, see Vajda 2004; Vajda in press). Some verbs were easily recognizable, e.g.:

(18) Ket *alepqaj* ‘inf. flare up, fly into a rage’ (Werner 2002/1: 25) ← Northern Tungusic: Ewenki *alipkī-* ‘to be angry’ < *ali-* ‘to be angry, to anger, make angry’ - *pkī* {Ewenki VV, see Vasilevič 1958: 784}:

cf. Northern: Ewenki *ali-* ‘to be angry, to anger, make angry’ (Bold.); Lamut *alel-* ~ *ālil-* ‘to be angry’; Negidal *ali-* ‘to be angry, hate’; Southern Amuric: –; Southern Manchuric: – (SSTMJa 1: 32ab).

(19) Ket *ɔq-tet* ‘to come loose and fall down’ (Vajda and Werner: in preparation) ← Northern Tungusic: Ewenki *ugd’e-* ‘to become lean, gaunt’:

cf. Northern: Ewenki *ugd’e-* ‘to become lean, gaunt’, cf. *ugd’e* ‘lean, gaunt’; Lamut –; Negidal *ugdexe* ~ *ugdexo* ‘few; small; weak’; Southern Amuric: Oroch –; Udihe –; Ulcha –; Orok *ugde* ‘quiet, slow, weak’; Nanai *ugje-* ‘vanish, disappear (about fish in lake)’; Southern Manchuric: – (SSTMJa 2: 245a).

The Ket verb has unclear etymology. It likely originates in the Tungusic verb *ugd’e-* ‘to become lean, gaunt’. Here the Tungusic etymology strengthens the lexical meaning.

4.2. Other parts of speech

Besides verbs, a small number of Tungusic adverbs and particles were borrowed in Ket, e.g.:

(20) Ket *bāŋa* ‘under no circumstance, never’ (Werner 2002/1: 102) ← Northern Tungusic: Ewenki *bān* ‘refusal, repudiation; failure’ < *bā-* ‘to be unable, to resist, to refuse’ -*n* {Ewenki VN, see Vasilevič 1958: 777}:

cf. Northern: Ewenki *bān* ‘refusal, repudiation; failure’ < *bā-* ‘to be unable’ (Bold.); Lamut *bā-* ‘to be lazy, to sit back’; Negidal –; Southern Amuric: Oroch *bāki* ‘lazy’; Udihe –; Ulcha –; Orok *baja* ~ *bāju* ‘lazy, idler, loafer’; Nanai *bāqi* ‘lazy, loafer’; Southern Manchuric: – (SSTMJa 1: 60b-61a).

Usually the source of borrowing is Ewenki, but in some cases it is questionable because of the word’s absence in Ewenki. The Ket example of the intensive negative particle *a:na* ‘not even, don’t even’ probably has a Tungusic origin. But despite the

fact that the word is present in almost all Tungusic languages, it is absent in the Ewenki dialects:

- (21) Ket *a:na* ‘intensive negative particle (not) even, (don’t) even’ (Werner 2002/1: 34) ← Common Tungusic *ana* ‘intensive negative particle (not) even, (don’t) even’:
 cf. Northern: Ewenki – ; Lamut *ān* ~ *āŋ* ~ *jān* ‘not having someone or something; without someone or something’; Negidal – ; Southern Amuric: Oroch *ana* ‘not, missing’; Udihe – ; Ulcha *ana* ‘net’; Orok *ana* ~ *anā* ~ *anaya* ‘not having someone or something; not, missing’; Nanai *anā* ‘not, missing’; Southern Manchuric: – (SSTMJa 1: 41a).

5. Lexicology

From a semantic point of view, the meaning of the loanwords taken from Tungusic is usually preserved. There appear to be some cases in which a change in meaning occurs. There are two Ket words, which belong to the taboo category:

- (22) Central Ket, Northern Ket *ulla* ~ *ülle* ‘ruble, the monetary unit in Russia’ (Vajda and Werner: in preparation) ← Northern Tungusic: Ewenki *ulukī* ‘squirrel’:
 cf. Northern: Ewenki dial. *ulukī*; Lamut *ōliki* ~ *ūliki* ~ *uliki* ~ *ul’ki*; Negidal *ōlōxī* ~ *ōlukī* ~ *eluxi*; Southern Amuric: Oroch *oloki*; Udihe *oloxi*; Ulcha *xolo*; Orok *xolo* ~ *xulu*; Nanai *xulu* ~ *uluki*; Southern Manchuric: Jurchen - ; Manchu *ulhu* ‘squirrel; ermine; squirrel fir’ (SSTMJa 2: 263-264).

The Ket word likely has a Tungusic etymology; it was borrowed from Ewenki, where it is *uluki* ‘squirrel’ form. My assumption can be confirmed by the fact that the price of squirrel hides in the early 20th century was one ruble (Dolgikh 1934: 91). It is a well-known fact that Tungusic, Turkic and other native Siberian people paid fur animals like squirrel and sable as tribute and tax to the Russians.

- (23) Southern Ket *ujijēs* ‘spring’ (a euphemism for the taboo word *ur* ‘spring’) (Werner 2002/2: 421) < Tungusic: Ewenki *ije* ‘horn’ + *ŋ* {Yeniseian plural} + Ket *ē:s* ‘weather’:

cf. Northern: Ewenki *ije* ‘horn’; Lamut *īj* ~ *īje*; Negidal *īje*; Southern Tungusic: Oroch *ije*; Udihe *jē*; Ulcha, Orok *huje*; Nanai *hujī*; Southern Manchuric: Jurchen *wúh-yè-hēi*; Manchu *ujhe* ~ *wejhe* (SSTMJa 1: 298b-299a).

The Ket word belongs to the hybrid words. In ethnographic works the word is mentioned as a euphemism replacing the Yeniseian taboo word *ur*. The word likely

consists of the Tungusic word *ije* ‘horn’ with the Yeniseian plural suffix and the Yeniseian word *ē:s* ‘weather’. My assumption can be confirmed by the observation that reindeer shed their antlers during the spring season.

6. Yeniseian loanwords in Tungusic

During my research I discovered new etymologies for some Ewenki words, e.g.:

(24) Northern Tungusic: Ewenki *homōtī* ‘bear’ < **homō +tī* {Ewenki NN/Adj.} ← Proto-Yeniseian **qo:hmə* < *qom* ‘taboo’ + *əŋ* {Yeniseian NN/Adj.}:

cf. Southern Ket *qəm*; Central Ket, Northern Ket *qə:mə*; Yugh *χɔ:hm* ‘taboo, sinful, ritually forbidden’ (Vajda & Werner: in preparation).

The Ewenki word *homōtī* ‘bear’ is possibly connected with the Common Yeniseian word *qom* ‘taboo’. Morphologically the Ewenki word was used with the Tungusic suffix *+tī*, which forms nouns that designate possession or a connection with something (for more on its function, see Vasilevič 1958: 793).

(25) Northern Tungusic: Yerbogachen Ewenki *kivšim* ‘fine snow’ < **kibtī +m* {Ewenki NN/Adj.} ← Proto-Yeniseian **kibedj* < *kiʔ* ‘new’ + **beʔdj* ‘snow’:

cf. Ket *kivet*, Yugh *kibetj* ‘new-fallen snow’ (Vajda & Werner: in preparation).

The Ewenki word probably was borrowed from Ket, where it is *kivet* ‘new-fallen snow’, with the Ewenki denominal noun suffix *+m*, which forms adjectives (for more on its function, see Vasilevič 1958: 769).

7. Conclusion

It is important to note that for the Tungusic loanwords in Yeniseian the source of borrowings were the Ewenki dialects. There are several Mongolic and Turkic words borrowed from Ewenki. The independent group of loanwords consists of hybrid words. Most loanwords are changed according to Yeniseian phonetic features (involving amalgamation, syncope, aphaeresis, metathesis, excrescence, Yeniseian suffixes as plural, the collective suffix, and the nominalizer, etc.). Morphologically they are mostly nouns and adjectives, but we also have a few verbs, adverbs and particles. In semantics the majority of Tungusic loanwords belong to the tundra, reindeer, hunting and house terminology.

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